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TO THE

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OF THE

### AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

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PRESENT STATE OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

THE Edinburgh Review for July 1836 contains a valuable article on this subject. It is admitted that, considering the efforts that have been made by several governments against this traffic, little has been effected towards its suppression. "It is in vain," says the Reviewer, "that we have looked to kings. They have professed, and they have called God to witness their professions; they have made treaties in the name of the Trinity—they have exhausted the vocabulary of their languages in reproachful terms upon the hellish traffic which they swore to abolish; they have issued their *álvaras* and their *cedulas* and their *ordonnances* without end; but the events of twenty years have proved that they have taken no one step to give effect to their professions—that they have acted in all instances without honour, and in many without honesty. Not one negro the less has, through their exertions, left the shores of Africa—not the slightest discouragement has been offered to their subjects to investing capital in the traffic; and on many occasions, to their infamy be it said, the clearest connivance on the part of their agents has been exposed by us and protected by them. We therefore put not our trust in Princes. We must look to the sympathy of enlightened men as they shall arise in different countries, and still more to that universal craving after better government which forces such men into their natural eminence, making supremacy of merit the sole means and broad highway to power." For many years all the arrangements of England with foreign powers have been defective in two points. First, in not authorizing the capture of vessels fitted up for the reception of slaves; and secondly, in not requiring peremptorily the demolition of the condemned vessels. In 1833 a convention was formed between England and France, making provision on these two points, and continuing the mutual right of search within certain prescribed limits, and also binding these two nations to use their best endeavours to induce the maritime powers of Europe to concur in all the terms of this convention. We make copious extracts from the Review, that our readers may be informed of the present condition of this trade.

Antecedently to the conventions with France, we had treaties with Brazil, the Netherlands, Sweden, Portugal, and Spain; and their provisions are in some respects more effective, as in the establishment



of mixed commissions on the spot; whereas by the French convention, captured vessels are to be delivered over to the jurisdiction of the power under whose flag they were sailing. The Equipment articles were contained in our treaties with the Netherlands and Sweden, and with no other countries. The breaking up of the prizes before sale was in no treaty or agreement we had ever entered into. All, therefore, that was necessary for us to do, was to urge those countries to agree *with France* to the whole of the conventions, and *with us* to such parts as were not already contained in our treaties with them. To all the other powers of Europe, and to the United States, France and England conjointly have made the strongest representations on the subject, and urged them by every consideration of justice, humanity, and policy, to make a combined and simultaneous effort for at once annihilating what they themselves had, twenty years before, denounced as the curse of Africa and the disgrace of Europe. It appears, accordingly, by the papers laid before Parliament, that instructions to this effect were sent to our ministers in Denmark, Sardinia, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Naples, and the United States. Orders were also sent at the same time to our minister at Buenos Ayres, to induce the government there, as well as the Monte Videan authorities, to enter into an effective treaty for the abolition of the trade. Lord Palmerston's despatch calls upon the former to fulfil in good faith the compacts to that effect entered into with Great Britain in the year 1825; and he forcibly points out to the latter, the deep disgrace to which the Uruguay Republic will be exposed, if their flag be found to protect this barbarous and disgraceful traffic.

We will begin with those countries with whom we had no antecedent agreement on the subject.

*Denmark.*—It should always be mentioned to the credit of this power, that the first edict levelled by it against the slave trade, and expressly in consideration of its nature and of the circumstances attending it, was dated so far back as the year 1792. This was being considerably in advance of public feeling and opinion in Europe, not to say England. For the last three or four years, the parliamentary papers show little correspondence with this country on the subject of the slave trade with Africa. Slaving vessels, it appears, touch at the island of St. Thomas, one of the Virgin islands in the possession of the Danes, and merchants resident in that island seem to have some share or interest in their enterprises. The Danish government, though promising to repress all criminal participation on the part of its own subjects, is unable to prevent vessels from touching at the free port of St. Thomas; and justly remarks, that the fault lies with those governments that sanction or tolerate the infamous trade, and furnish vessels engaged in it with papers which enable them to carry it on with impunity from our cruisers. On the 27th July, 1834, the treaty of accession by the King of Denmark to the conventions between France and England was forwarded to this country. No better proof can be adduced of the sincerity and good faith of the Danish government in desiring to put a stop to the traffic.

*Sardinia.*—This country also, to its credit, has readily acceded to these conventions, and a treaty, giving effect to the same, was signed

August 8th, 1834, in triplicate by the French, English, and Sardinian ministers. One article in that treaty, stipulating that Sardinian vessels, if captured, should be taken to Genoa, would have nullified the objects of the treaty, as far as humanity to the slaves is concerned. The serious aggravation of their sufferings, from being carried even to Sierra Leone from the waters in which the vessels are ordinarily captured, is dwelt upon by all our commissioners and captains, and was one of the considerations that first led to our effecting an establishment at Fernando Po. By the time, therefore, the captured vessel arrived at Genoa, but a small remnant of its wretched cargo (if taken with one on board) would have survived. Upon the nature of this stipulation being represented to the Sardinian government, they, in the month of December following, agreed to an additional article, to the effect that Sardinian vessels captured by French and English cruisers, should be taken to the port or place to which English or French vessels, under similar circumstances, would have been conveyed.

*Austria.*—To this power, as one of the parties signing the European denunciation of the slave trade in 1815, a requisition was sent by Lord Palmerston, that it should enter into a treaty, with stipulations corresponding to our conventions with France. This requisition was only laid before Prince Metternich by our ambassador, and no answer appears by the papers before us to have been returned. In 1826, Austria published a decree giving freedom to every slave touching the Austrian soil, and rendering all direct or indirect participation in the traffic highly penal. We therefore expect that a readiness to co-operate with us for its complete extinction will not be wanting.

*Prussia.*—Another party to the declarations of the Congresses at Vienna and Verona, was also invited. The invitation appears to have been supported on our part with ability and earnestness, and to have been met with weak evasions on the other, which, from the character of the Prussian Government, we should not have expected. The obligation is felt and acknowledged, of redeeming the solemn pledge given twenty years before by the King of Prussia, in common with those other sovereigns who then thought fit, in the name of God, to take upon themselves the protection of mankind. Their words were these,—‘that they are animated with the sincere desire of accomplishing the complete abolition of the slave trade by all the means at their disposal, and of acting in the employment of these means with all the zeal and perseverance which is due to so great and noble a cause, and that this their solemn engagement can never be fulfilled until the period when complete success shall have crowned their efforts.’ And yet, when it is proposed to one of these parties to agree with France and England to a mutual right of search, under certain strict conditions, an objection is made to the proposal; not, as one might expect, from the interruption of their commerce or the vexatious delays to which their vessels might be exposed, but because they have no vessels at all navigating those waters. It is in vain that Lord Palmerston points out that, for that very reason, national jealousy need in no way take alarm; that no inconvenience would be caused to Prussian subjects, and no interference with their inte-

ests; that the only effect would be, to prevent the slaving pirates from covering their criminal traffic under the flag of Prussia, which they would fraudulently assume, and which, from the absence of a Prussian navy, would afford them complete immunity. The correspondence was not completed, but M. Ancillon does not appear to have been disposed to yield. Prussia has done nothing for the abolition of the slave trade but signing the empty declarations at the different Congresses.

*Russia.*—The same remarks will apply to the correspondence with this power as to that with Prussia. After the accustomed eulogy of the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas, especially for their humanity and good faith, (we suppose there are lithograph forms for these kept in the offices at St. Petersburg,) Count Nesselrode acknowledges the solemn obligation on the part of Russia to use *every* means in her power to aid the abolition of the slave trade, and yet demurs about the *only* means which the experience of years has shown to be effective. He thinks that a great step has been taken, by the mutual right of search agreed to by England and France; he admits that no inconvenience can result to Russian merchantmen, as they do not frequent the seas in question; that no expense will be incurred by keeping a Russian squadron, as the cruisers of France and England will do all that is necessary; and as a result of the whole he declares that the Emperor his master is willing to take up the thread of the negotiations, as left by former congresses, and to open fresh conferences for the purpose of *seeking out* the most effectual means of preventing the slave trade; or in other words, as Lord Palmerston justly says, in exposing this flimsy evasion of what good faith and justice require of them, of finding the best means of going backward instead of forward in the matter. The only effectual means of crushing this detestable traffic have been found out by experience, and as such were submitted to Russia for her adoption. Lord Palmerston's able remonstrance on the conduct of the Russian Government, and his exposition of the want of straightforwardness, consistency, and good faith manifested by it, remain, according to the Parliamentary papers, unanswered. This is the only step Russia has ever been asked to take, to give effect to the engagements she made with the rest of Europe not to rest in her endeavors till the slave trade was no more.

*Naples.*—A final answer had not been received from this power, but there was no willingness to accede to our wishes; the same frivolous *pretexts* (for as far as reasons are concerned they tell the other way) were given, that Naples had no commerce in those seas, and cannot afford to have cruisers; of course then, as Lord Palmerston answers, Neapolitan subjects can sustain no inconvenience or loss, and our cruisers can prevent the outlaws of other nations from carrying on their crimes under shelter of the Neapolitan flag.

The above of our powers have, therefore, demurred in their accession to the French and English conventions; but having given their reasons for demurring, and those reasons being so frivolous and untenable, it is impossible that, if our representatives are not remiss, **they can long withhold their consent to what their solemn engagements, as well as the commonest principles of justice and humanity,**



require of them; and that without any loss to their subjects, any expense to themselves, or any infraction of international principles.— We have, however, to record one instance of positive refusal to our request of accession to these conventions, and that, we grieve to say, comes from the United States of America—the first nation that, by its statute law, branded the slave trade with the name of piracy. \* \* \* In the month of August, 1833, the English and French ministers jointly sent in copies of the recent conventions, and requested the accession of the United States. At the end of March following, seven months afterwards, an answer is returned, which, though certainly not of a favorable character in other respects, yet brings so prominently into view, as the insuperable objection, that the mutual right of search of suspected vessels was to be extended to the shores of the United States, (though we permitted it to American cruisers off the coast of our West Indian colonies,) that Lord Palmerston was naturally led to suppose that the other objections were superable. He therefore, though aware how much the whole efficiency of the agreement will be impaired, consents to waive that part of it, in accordance with the wishes of the President, and in the earnest hope that he will, in return, make some concessions of feeling or opinion to the wishes of England and France, and to the necessities of a great and holy cause. The final answer, however, is, that under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make combined efforts of any sort or kind, with other nations for the suppression of the trade. We much mistake the state of public opinion in the United States if its government will not find itself under the necessity of changing this resolution.— The slave trade will henceforth, we have little doubt, be carried on under that flag of freedom; but as in no country, after our own, have such persevering efforts for its suppression been made, by men the most distinguished for goodness, wisdom and eloquence, as in the United States, we cannot believe that their flag will long be prostituted to such vile purposes; and either they must combine with other nations, or they must increase the number and efficiency of their naval forces on the coast of Africa and elsewhere, and do their work single handed. We say this the more, because the motives which have actuated the Government of the United States in this refusal, clearly have reference to the words ‘right of search.’ They will not choose to see that this is a mutual restricted right, effected by convention, strictly guarded by stipulations, for one definite object, and confined in its operations within narrow geographical limits; a right, moreover, which England and France have accorded to each other without derogating from the national honor of either. If we are right in our conjecture of the motive, and there is evidence to support us, we must consider that the President and his Ministers have been, in this instance, actuated by a narrow provincial jealousy, totally unworthy of a great and independent nation. \* \* \*

The answer of the Brazilian government is, that as soon as the Portuguese trade is stopped, there will be none carried on between Africa and Brazil. The Brazilian slave trade appears in fact to have stopped from the time it was declared piracy. There is an appearance of

good faith in the matter, on the part of the Brazilian government, that makes us think their consent will ultimately be obtained. From the *Netherlands* and from *Sueden* no answer appears to have been received to the urgent request of the English Government, to accede to the arrangements recently made between France and England.—With *Portugal*, the case stands thus: In 1815, to speak the plain truth, we bought a treaty with her, by which we were to be suffered to effect the abolition of the trade under her flag. There is only one thing more disgraceful to her than taking money for such a treaty, and that is the failing to fulfil its stipulations, and acting with general bad faith in carrying it into execution;—and this she has done. By the treaty alluded to, the Portuguese slave trade was entirely abolished north of the equator; a mutual right of search and a mixed Commission Court being agreed upon to give effect to the abolition. South of the equator, the trade under the Portuguese flag was for a time to be permitted; but that only for the purpose of supplying the Transatlantic possessions of Portugal. The Government of Portugal, however, solemnly engaged to take every means within their power to effect the universal abolition, and ‘to assimilate the legislation of Portugal on the subject as much as possible to that of England.’—Upon Portugal acknowledging the independence of Brazil, the Portuguese slave trade, by this treaty, became illicit south of the equator, as well as north, though the Portuguese flag did not come under the maritime police which watched over it north of the equator; and it appears to be an omission in the treaty that it contained no stipulation to that effect. In 1826, the Portuguese Government admitted that the moment was come for putting a stop for ever to the inhuman traffic, and engaged to enter into a more binding treaty with Great Britain for destroying it in their own dominions, and to co-operate with her in extinguishing it in others. But neither in consequence of this engagement, which has never been acted upon, nor of the traffic becoming illicit every where by the law of Portugal, has it in any way diminished; but, on the contrary, it has been carried on since that time to an extent which it never before attained. It has completely frustrated all the endeavors of the Brazilian Government, to check the importation of negroes into their territory, and has received the most open and shameful toleration and even support from the Portuguese authorities on the coast of Africa. Lord Palmerston, last year, appears to have forwarded to the Portuguese Government a detail of the arrangements by which alone it will be practicable to abolish the slave trade, and requires that a treaty should be made to give effect to such arrangements. \* \* \* We much mistake the decision and firmness, as well as zeal, in this cause, that will be shown by any man we are likely to have at the head of foreign affairs, (for happily this cause depends not on the change of parties, having been zealously advocated by all,) if such conduct be tamely submitted to from a country bound to us for services in time past, and in an especial manner at the present moment, and when not only honor and good faith, but mere honesty are concerned in the fulfilment of her engagements. We must, when other means have failed, just take the matter in our own hands. \* \* \*

It will have been seen, therefore, that though far from perfect success has attended our efforts, whether in union with the French or alone, to induce other powers to accede to the important articles of the conventions made by us with France, yet the obstacles are by no means serious and important. Every power of Europe has acknowledged that a solemn obligation is upon them to contribute to the abolition of the accursed traffic in our fellow creatures. Each also admits that their formal declaration to that effect, made more than twenty years ago, has to this hour been fruitless, and the pledges then given to use every means in the power of each to effect it, still unredeemed. The frivolous pretexts which have been advanced by some for not adopting the only means which experience has shown to be effectual, require only to be refuted, and the object to be sincerely and heartily pursued by us, and complete success cannot be far distant. We have abundant evidence before us that no exertions will be wanting on the part of Lord Palmerston. His urgent remonstrances and representations have been poured into every country of the civilized world. His tone has been firm and decisive, when our slave treaties have been infringed; he has used argument and persuasion where as yet there had been no obligation. After a careful perusal of the documents before us, we hesitate not to say that his zealous, consistent, and able advocacy of this great cause, while it tends to raise his country highest among nations for enlightened humanity, and for moral worth, will constitute, next to the preservation of peace, his worthiest title to a lasting reputation.

There yet remains another power, the last to be mentioned, but with reference to the slave trade, by far the most important. Of all countries in Europe the consent of Spain to the articles now discovered to be essential to the suppression of the traffic was the most needed, and the least expected. It will be impossible that our readers should appreciate the extent of the evil to be redressed in this quarter; the difficulties in the way of that redress from indifference, from jealousy, from bad faith, and from self-interest; the patience and perseverance with which the object has been pursued, and the diplomatic skill and address through which it has been finally obtained; without a reference to the actual state of the Spanish Slave Trade, as well as the existing arrangements between the two countries for its suppression. The history of the negotiations on the subject forms a curious chapter in the annals of diplomacy, and is instructive, for the evidence it affords of the extent to which the national bad faith can be carried, and the pertinacity with which it can be adhered to. In 1814, the King of Spain, in a treaty made with Great Britain, stated, that he fully participated in the sentiments of humanity which actuated the King of England with respect to this unjust and inhuman traffic, and twice in that year he solemnly engaged 'to take measures for giving effect to these sentiments.' Nothing followed from these promises;—after three years, and at the end of long and difficult negotiations, conducted with ability and untiring assiduity on the one part, and with evasions and subterfuge on the other, a treaty was concluded. This treaty bears upon the face of it the well-known stamp of one of the parties; for the first article of the treaty having stated that the slave



trade shall be for ever abolished throughout the dominions of Spain, the third stipulates that £400,000 shall be paid by England to the King of Spain. This was a bribe to his Catholic Majesty to do that which he had been bound by honor to do three years before. We shall presently see whether, as in the case of Portugal, more reliance could be placed upon his honesty. In order to give full and complete effect to the laudable objects of the treaty, a mutual right of search in certain waters was agreed upon, as well as two courts of mixed commission, one on Spanish, and one on English territory. This treaty promised well, but it soon was seen to be a dead letter. To give it effect, it required the co-operation of Spain; and all that could be obtained from her was the reluctant issue of decrees for the observance of the treaty, and in no one instance was obedience to these decrees either paid or exacted. As therefore we, of course, could not prevent ships from fitting out for this traffic in Spanish ports, and as by the treaty our cruisers were not to detain a vessel which had no negroes actually on board, the whole value of the treaty was lost. The trade flourished as much as ever, and, unhappily, with increased cruelty, from the necessity of evading the vigilance of our cruisers.—Our representations of these facts were met as usual with evasions, till, being unable to hold out any longer, the King of Spain, after an interval of five years, agreed to an additional article, to the effect that, if undeniable evidence be adduced of slaves *having been* on board, (not of the vessel having been fitted up for their reception,) then the vessel might be captured. This might have done some good, but difficulty was found in giving effect to it. The authorities in Cuba would not acknowledge it; the Spanish commissioners refused to act upon it; and at length it was discovered, four years afterwards, that this additional article had never been communicated to any body out of the Spanish Government, and of course had never obtained the efficiency of law. The British minister insisted on this being remedied, and consequently, in 1826, *four* years after it had been formally ratified with us, the article received its due promulgation. Small good, however, resulted even then from this additional article. The difficulty of proving that the vessel had had slaves on board during that particular voyage, and the enormous penalties in the shape of demurrage and cost incurred by the captor if the proof failed, rendered our captains exceedingly averse to detaining vessels in which slaves were not actually found on board.

From 1826 to 1830, all that our continued exertions at Madrid could exact, were sundry royal orders, addressed to the authorities in Cuba, to see that the treaties entered into for the suppression of the slave trade were not infringed. It is needless to say that these were not worth the paper on which they were written. They formed a common subject of ridicule at Havanna, and either private instructions to disregard them, had been sent with them, or there was a previous understanding that they were not to be attended to. The last of these royal orders is dated August 2, 1830, and describes itself as being more decisive than its predecessors, and more imperative upon the Cuba authorities to prevent evasions of the slave trade treaties.—Whatever may have been its character, it followed the fate of its pre-

decessors. After this, the British Government ceased not to point out the total inefficiency of all existing arrangements, and to call upon the Spanish Government, in the name of humanity and of good faith, to pay some regard to its solemn pledges, and to consent to some new method for attaining the object which Spain, equally with England, professed to have in view.

Some details are, however, necessary to convey a notion of the frightful extent of the traffic, fifteen years after Spain had agreed to suppress it. Between 1823 and 1832 no less than 325 regular slavers left the port of Havanna for the coast of Africa; 236 returned, importing in them into the island of Cuba upwards of 100,000 slaves: of the 89 vessels that did not return, some were captured by the British cruisers, and the rest perished with or without their wretched cargoes. The following are extracts from the later reports of the British commissioners at the Havanna and at Sierra Leone, with reference to the activity of the traffic, and the only effectual means for its suppression. In 1832 the commissioners at Sierra Leone state,—‘It is our painful duty to inform your Lordship, that the Spanish slave trade carried on under our own observation, is in as full activity on this devoted coast as it ever was. We are perfectly convinced, from experience, and from the operation of the equipment article of the Netherlands treaty, in totally suppressing the slave trade under the flag of that nation, that nothing short of a similar article in the slave trade treaty with Spain will really suppress that traffic under the Spanish flag.’

In 1833, they state, ‘That the Spanish subjects are far more deeply engaged in the traffic than any other, and that all efforts hitherto made to check it have been unavailing.’ In the next year, after a long list of slaving enterprises under the Spanish flag, they say—‘These facts undoubtedly prove the system and extent of the Spanish slave trade, and the protection and connivance which it receives from the authorities. They show the necessity of opposing the skill and experience of slave traders, by the adoption of a measure which we have frequently referred to, as being in our opinion the sure and only means by which such slave trade will be repressed—we mean the addition of the equipment article to our present slave treaty with Spain.’ Each year also, a similar statement of the extent to which the traffic is carried on has been made by our commissioners in Cuba, and the urgent necessity for the same remedy described, if possible, in still stronger terms. The very last report from Havanna concludes thus—‘On such a lamentable statement it is needless for me to expatiate. Your Lordship will, however, perceive, that never has the slave trade of Cuba been at a greater height than at present, and that the remonstrances of his Majesty’s Commissioners here are not attended to, except in a manner that amounts to downright mockery.’ Mr. Addington, our minister at Madrid, was desired repeatedly to press upon the Spanish Government the adoption of this one effectual means for the suppression of the trade, and to give us in this single instance an evidence of good faith on the subject. The efforts made by this gentleman were attended with the most signal want of success. His representations were met either by evasion or insolent neglect: ‘The major part,’ he states in a despatch, ‘have never received any answer at all.’ After repeated efforts, and after having ex-

hausted all his means of influence, he can only inform Lord Palmerston, that 'though the Spanish minister does not show a *symptom* of an intention to grant the additional articles, yet that he appears averse to the vicious traffic in general.'

Under these unfavorable circumstances, with the repeated failures of all his predecessors before his eyes, Mr. Villiers, upon becoming minister at Madrid, took up the thread of the negotiation. He was directed to use every exertion to prevail upon the Spanish Government, if unwilling to do more, to adopt at least the stipulations so often pressed upon them, relative to the equipment of vessels. It is not easy to overstate the difficulties which he had to contend with. The subject between the two governments was exhausted; appeals without end to the humanity, to the sense of national honor, deeply concerned in the fulfilment of its engagements, had been made to the Spanish Government, and the language of the bitterest reproach had been unsparingly used. It had been proved, that no sense of moral obligation was sufficient to induce the Spanish Government to suffer the abolition of the trade, and the powerful interest connected with Cuba, (the great and cherished remnant of that world that once called Spain its mistress) were altogether opposed to it. On the part of the people too, and even of the majority of those who regulate public opinion, our unceasing efforts to effect the abolition of the trade were either ridiculed as Quixotic, or ascribed to self-interest, and the desire to reduce Cuba to the level of our own ruined colonies. As for sympathy with disinterested feelings of humanity, it was idle to think of them. It would indeed be a bitter mockery, if a pretence to them were set up on the part of a nation whose history is a record of the most savage violation of such feelings; where civil wars are loved for the massacres that they occasion; and where to this day, constituted and recognised authorities try helpless old women by martial law, and in cold blood bring them before a file of soldiers to be shot. In short, never were negotiations commenced under circumstances that afforded a fainter prospect of success—and the result at first bore out the expectation. A long and formal representation of all the offences of Spain in this matter, and of the claims of Great Britain, was addressed to M. de Zea by Mr. Villiers. This statement, which Lord Palmerston, in conveying 'the King's full and entire approbation of it,' characterises 'as an able and masterly note, containing a luminous exposition of the faithlessness of the Spanish Government,' was left at first unnoticed. In the mean while, however, great and important changes were effecting, less perhaps in the forms than in the working of the Spanish polity. A struggle had commenced, which continues to this day, and which we trust in God, will never stop until popular power shall have secured itself within the forms of constitutional government, and crushed forever every remnant of that apostolical despotism, under whose withering influence a highly gifted and once powerful nation has shrunk into insignificance and barbarism.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Villiers had to deal with a government emancipated from the perfidious and bigoted Ferdinand, and presided over by a man who, if events have proved him deficient in the practical qualities of a statesman, and unequal to bring into subjection the unruly spirits of men in a revolutionary period, was yet a man of



cultivated intellect, of refined feelings, and of unblemished integrity. We speak of Martinez de la Rosa. But whatever may have been this minister's wishes, and they certainly were on the side of justice and humanity, his course at a very critical juncture of public affairs was beset with difficulties, which he wanted firmness and resolution to overcome. He feared also to provoke hostility on the part of the great interests connected with Cuba, and consequently with the slave trade, as well as to expose himself to the misrepresentation of submitting to the dictation of England. The only political consideration that could be suggested to him, was the advantage of English support in the civil contest then raging in Spain. All other means of influencing him were purely personal and diplomatic. Of these Mr. Villiers availed himself. And in the end, after strenuous and persevering efforts, continued during eighteen months, a treaty was obtained, containing not only the stipulation for the capture of vessels equipped for the traffic (for which alone Mr. Villiers had been instructed to apply), but providing for the penal castigation of the owners, captains, and supercargoes; for the breaking up of the condemned vessels; and for the delivery of the wretched captives to British authorities. The geographical limits, also, within which the right of search is allowed, are far more extensive than in the French convention. This treaty was announced in the King's speech at the opening of the present Session, and an act of Parliament has since passed, giving effect to its stipulations.

The great and *essential* difference between this treaty and all others concluded with Spain, is that it does not depend for its fulfilment upon Spanish co-operation. All is left to the regulations of the British Government, and the activity of British cruisers. It is essentially a measure of *prevention*. Every vessel engaged in the traffic, must, on leaving port, be so fitted out as to afford clear evidence of guilty intention, and may now be seized before the guilt is consummated. When once seized under such circumstances, there can be no evasion. In every other scheme for the prevention of the slave trade, the facilities of evasions are endless. We confidently anticipate that slighter exertions on our part will now be necessary, and a less sacrifice of money, and of the valuable lives of our fellow-countrymen: for whereas at present, our numerous cruisers are fruitlessly engaged in sailing up and down, for the chance of finding vessels with slaves on board, while the empty slavers under their very eyes are waiting perhaps for months for their cargoes, a small force will now suffice to make the sea untenable for these pirates. Steamers will probably be employed. They will sail up the rivers, or into the bays and creeks where the slavers are in the habit of waiting, and seize them, although a single negro may not have been put on board.

We will mention but one thing more. In the commencement of February a man-of-war returned from the coast of Africa, bringing intelligence that one of our cruisers had captured three vessels, under the new treaty, having on board £7,000 in dollars, for the purchase of slaves. And on May 16, another vessel arrived at Portsmouth from the same station, by which we learned that there were *nineteen* Spanish vessels, captured under the new treaty, waiting at Sierra Leone for adjudication, until our act of Parliament giving effect to it,

should arrive. Now the average number of Spanish vessels captured *during the year* does not exceed six for many years past.

We have dwelt thus long upon this case, because we think that a fatal blow has been struck at the slave trade in one of its oldest and surest strongholds, and because we think that the circumstances under which success has been obtained, render its achievement highly creditable to the British representative by whom the negotiations have been conducted. We deem this treaty also of immeasurably greater importance, when viewed in conjunction with the conventions entered into with France. Spain putting the prevention of the trade under her flag into our hands, and France co-operating with us in the suppression of her own and that of other nations, it needs must be that this infernal traffic, comprehending within itself all other crimes of the highest magnitude, robbery, murder, piracy, must henceforth rapidly decline. The assertion that it will never entirely cease until all the nations of Christendom shall declare it piracy, is, in one sense, undoubtedly true. We doubt, however, whether they who are constantly affirming this, are quite aware of all that must be comprehended under it to make it true. It is not calling the traffic piracy, and making it punishable by the laws of the country so calling it, that will abolish it: for no dependence, as we know full well, could be placed upon native authorities for giving effect to the law in such cases. There must be a law agreed upon by all nations, strictly defining the nature of this piracy and affixing the penalty to it; for be it remembered, the punishment for piracy is not the same in all countries. There must also be tribunals, composed of judges from all nations, settled in places contiguous to the line of traffic, to decide upon the criminality of parties accused, and to decree the liberation of the captive negroes. After this—if all nations set heartily to the work—if their authorities neither permitted vessels to fit out in their ports, nor furnished papers to such as were suspected of criminal intentions—if they took good care to prevent the landing of these living cargoes when they arrived in their colonies, and thus despoiled the pirate of his market—and if also, at the same time that their own cruisers were ever on the alert, they gave licenses to privateers to capture, for their own profit, vessels engaged in the traffic—then, doubtless, we admit the slave trade would be at once and forever at an end. But unless all this were done, the mere brack of piracy would be as complete a mockery as every measure taken by former governments to the same end has been before it. No one, however acquainted with the state of feeling on this subject in Europe, and the weakness of abstract philosophy, would expect to see any nation so far from such a state of things as to allow the traffic to continue, without calling out for more vigorous measures. And we are sure that the zeal and perseverance of a good and righteous cause, count every step for gain which brings, however slowly, and however distantly, their noble end in view.

We have had pleasure also, from another reason, in dwelling upon the triumph of our efforts in this great cause during the last four years. Our foreign policy has been assailed without ceasing, and our ministers upbraided for the hearty and effective support which they have



afforded to the (so called) revolutionary governments of France and Spain. But surely there is something which must strike the most indifferent, and something wherewithal to silence even professional detractors, in the fact that it has been from those two countries,—countries whose commercial and worldly interests were most opposed to the sacrifice—that these important concessions were obtained. And is there no connection of cause and effect in this coincidence? Had we not for years been cheated by deceitful promises and unmeaning decrees, from the Bourbons in France? And can any one be so ignorant or so silly as to suppose that good in this, or any other shape, would have been obtained from Don Carlos, who can only number among his partisans, the weak-minded, the selfish, and the criminal? Far be it from us to think so. On the contrary, we maintain that, leaving out of consideration the general expediency of our policy, and its many certain and contingent advantages, there is enough in the two conventions with France, and in the recent treaty with Spain, to justify the support which we have afforded the Government of each country in their hour of peril, and the firm and faithful alliance which has been its natural result.

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#### ULTRAISM.

A sensible and well-written article under the above title, appears in the New York Magazine for October last, and is attributed to the pen of Dr. DAVID M. REESE, an eminent Physician of New York, and before distinguished as an author.

The writer commences with asking, What is ultraism? And who are the *ultras*? And after examining the origin and meaning of the term, concludes that it is correctly used when it is applied to any one who goes beyond the true character which he assumes, and sees no danger of abusing the term, if those who use it can agree to adopt some common standard, to transcend which shall, by unanimous consent, be called *ultraism*. This standard, the writer proposes shall be the *Bible*, and that every one who shall become in his own conceit, or in his philosophy, philanthropy or religion, *either wiser or better than the Bible*; shall henceforth be denominated an *ultra*, and his principles and practice be ranked as *ultraism*.

Having adopted this rule, the writer proceeds to "*try the spirits*," and selects for his purpose Ultra-Temperance, Ultra-Abolition and Ultra-Protestant Societies. The following are his remarks on Ultra-Abolition:

We now direct the attention of the reader to another class of *ultras*, who are called anti-slavery societies, but whom we have denominated *ultra-abolitionists*. By these, we mean to designate all who maintain the doctrine, that the act of slave-holding or having "property in man," is a *sin against God* independent of all circumstances. This doctrine we affirm to be *ultraism* because it goes beyond the Bible and is, therefore, untrue.

That we do not include these abolitionists who view slavery as an evil and benevolently desire its abolition, and pray for the emancipation of all who are in bonds, and contribute as much as in them lies to prepare the way for its ultimate annihilation, is because such do not go beyond the Bible either in their creed or practice. They believe that there may be circumstances in which the act of holding slaves is *not* a sin against God; and that "property in man," under certain circumstances, has been recognized by the Divine law, and

is still so recognized. Nay more, they believe that there may be *circumstances* in which it is the duty of those who hold slaves to continue to hold them, and when without a *change* of circumstances, the act of liberation would be a sin against God, and one of a most cruel and inhuman character. Of course, such abolitionists do not presume to insist on immediate abolition as a duty in all cases, nor do they found their arguments in favor of emancipation on the basis that the act of slave-holding is *malum per se*. They are in favor of emancipation wherever and whenever it is safe and practicable.

The views they learn from the Bible are these, viz: that no action can be justly decided to be either *malum*, or *bonum per se*. The question of right and wrong, in any given case, is adjudicated by the Divine law, universally in connexion with its circumstances, and not abstractly. For example, the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," is imperative and unqualified, and yet it was never designed to prohibit *killing*, independent of *circumstances*. So far from this being the fact, the Jewish lawgiver, by Divine authority, established a system of sacrifices which wholly consisted in a repetition of the act of *killing*, and the blood of the animals slain for these purposes, for centuries smoked upon God's own altars. Nor did the command prohibit killing *men, women and children*, independent of circumstances, as may be seen in Abraham's virtual sacrifice of Isaac, and in the multiplied examples in which God commanded great multitudes to be *killed*, as recorded in the sacred volume, and also in the memorable "cities of refuge," provided by divine appointment for the manslayer, who had *killed* a man *unawares*. These were all *killing*, and according to the creed of ultraism, flagrant violations of the commandment, but in truth there is no violation in any of the cases, because of the circumstances which are essential to decide the moral quality of the act.

Let us illustrate our position by a case of frequent occurrence in common life. A man is killed in the street, and an *ultra* hearing of it, affirms forthwith, that the man who did the deed is guilty of murder, for killing is *malum per se*. Such decision may be utterly erroneous, nor can we at all estimate the moral quality of the act of killing until all the *circumstances* are known. For the author of the deed may have committed it with malice prepense, and in that case is a *murderer*; or he may have done so in a moment of passion, and is then guilty of *manslaughter*; or it may have been the only resort for the preservation of his own life from a ruffian assault, and would be *justifiable homicide*; or he may have been the innocent instrument of the death of his fellow man by an unavoidable casualty, which no caution or foresight could prevent, and in this last case would not be guilty of any crime; or still farther, he may have purposely shot the man to the heart, as the only means to prevent him from setting fire to a magazine of gunpowder, which would have destroyed hundreds of human lives, and in such case he would have been guilty if he had not committed the act, in the eye of every law whether human or divine.

Such are only a few of the circumstances which essentially modify and even change the moral quality of the act of killing, and the same may be said of slave-holding, and any other action upon which ultraism hazards its blind and indiscriminate anathemas. All who study moral science in the Bible, will perceive that every sin, which by

express statute is pronounced to be such, is one for the commission of which, a number of *essential circumstances* must be present. With these, no additional circumstances can change its sinful character; but without these, this sin cannot be predicted of any given case.—Hence we argue from the Bible, that though there be a violation of the letter of the commandment, even when there is an express statute, if there be no violation of its spirit, the commandment is not broken. On the contrary, the transgression of the *spirit* of the commandment, includes all the essential circumstances which characterize the act of its violation, and necessarily includes also the letter of the commandment, even when the act is not consummated. Hence, says our standard, “He that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery already with her in his heart,” and again “He that is angry with his brother, without a cause, is a *murderer*.” In these and the like cases, the spirit of the commandment is broken, and the sin is committed, though the letter of the law remains unviolated.

With these preliminary views, we now return to ultra-abolitionism, as already defined, and to prove that the Bible does recognize *property in man under certain circumstances*, we refer to the Old and New Testaments throughout, in which we shall find the following undeniable facts, abundantly sustained.

1st. That slavery in some form, which recognized “property in man” has always existed since the days of the patriarchs.

2nd. That God has not only permitted its existence, but legislated for its abolition in some cases, and for its perpetuity in others.

3rd. That the precepts of the Old and New Testaments, are addressed to both masters and slaves, and this relation so far from being disturbed, was fully recognized.

4th. That the rights of the master or owner of slave property, are acknowledged and protected by the Divine law.

Nor indeed do we need any other proof than the tenth commandment of the decalogue, which is of universal and perpetual obligation, for we there read, “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s *man-servant*, nor thy neighbor’s *maid-servant*, nor any thing that is *his*.” And surely no one need to be informed that the word *his*, when the ellipsis is filled up, means “*his property*,” for it cannot possibly mean any thing else.

But let no ultra now accuse us of “quoting Scripture to justify *American slavery*,” which such regard little short of high treason; for these references to the Bible are made solely for the purpose of showing the ultraism of the doctrine, that the act of holding a slave under *any circumstances* is *sin* against God; since there are circumstances in which God himself has recognized “property in man,” and *ceteris paribus* he does so now. Whether any individual slaveholder, be a sinner or not, in America or elsewhere, can only be adjudicated after a knowledge of the *circumstances*; for upon these, the morality of the act will depend.

To enable the reader to estimate the correctness of these principles, we will suppose a case, and let it be remembered, that a single example, will as effectually overthrow the ultraism upon which we are animadverting, as though we were to enumerate a million of them.—The foundation of the system, is, that the act of “holding property in



man" is *malum per se*, a sin against God, independent of all circumstances. Now if we can show a single instance in which this is not true, out of a multitude which might be named, the whole theory and practice of ultraism will be proven to be *beyond* the Bible, and therefore untrue.

Suppose then, that a gentleman in the South has a plantation with a number of slaves as his paternal inheritance, and among these slaves a number of them are idiots, and have always been unable either to benefit him, or to take care of themselves. They are altogether helpless as infants, and did he not continue to feed and clothe them, and provide for their wants, they must soon perish. We enquire do not these "circumstances," annihilate the sin of slaveholding so far as these helpless persons are concerned, and would he not sin against God, should he liberate them and suffer them to *starve*?

But this it will be said is a strong case, and though not less appropriate, yet we take another. Suppose he have a number of able bodied slaves, who are valuable and productive. They and their ancestors, for several generations, have belonged to the plantation, and been owned by the family. They are ignorant of letters, and the laws of the state forbid their instruction under intolerable penalties. The laws against emancipation, amount to a prohibition unless they are removed from the state, and they refuse to be sent to Liberia. In such case, if the benevolence of the master prompt him to emancipate them, there are insuperable difficulties in the way. They are not prepared for freedom by education, nor is he allowed to prepare them. They have never provided for themselves, nor could they do so if they were free. If he liberate them and turn them off his plantation, they would be arrested and sold into slavery, perhaps under greater affliction than they endure. And should he expend all he has in transporting them into the free states, he conscientiously believes they would famish or freeze, and he is constrained religiously to feel, that his sacred duty to these slaves is to keep them in bondage for their own sakes. Possibly he finds them a burden to him, from which he would be gladly relieved, but his conscience will not allow him to sell them, and he cannot emancipate them under any circumstances which he does not verily believe would prove their ruin. Perhaps he hopes and ardently desires that the laws of the state in which he lives may be modified and improved, so as to render abolition safe and practicable, and he retains his slaves, as a duty and as a burden. Now all these "circumstances" exist in numerous cases in the southern states, and yet if there were but one such, it would prove that the act of slaveholding is not a sin under all circumstances, and that immediate instant abolition would neither be lawful nor expedient in any such example.

That there are petty tyrants and despots in America, and elsewhere, who hold their fellow men in bondage, because they love slavery and its wages, and who would fain perpetuate it to the latest generation, is not denied. These would not liberate their slaves, if every door was open for them to do so; and there are those among them who would withhold education and the gospel from the hapless victims of their tyranny, even if there were no restraints imposed either by law or necessity. Such masters furnish examples in which

the act of slaveholding, is accompanied by essential circumstances, which constitute that act *malum per se*, a sin against God and nature, and such examples have driven many into the ranks of ultraism, because of these being falsely represented as specimens of the general and universal character of slaveholders. We affirm that they are very rarely found, and are exceptions to the general rule, but be they few or many, we utterly disclaim all sympathy or fellowship with their principles, because, like those of the opposite extreme, they go beyond the Bible and are therefore ultras, though antipodal to the former.

On the other hand, there are Christian masters who own slaves, and yet the act of slaveholding is on their part accompanied by circumstances, which fully justify the act for the present, and until there shall be a change of those circumstances. This they ardently desire and pray for, and they abhor the restraints which their legislators have thrown upon the education and religious instruction of their slaves, and are utterly hostile to those laws under which they live, which prohibit emancipation and even the preparation for freedom which their benevolence would otherwise prompt. But still they have slaves, whom they cannot get rid of by any process which will not be mischievous if not ruinous to them; and such, though actual slaveholders, are so under circumstances which instead of being sinful, would render immediate abolition both sin and cruelty.

The whole sect of *ultras* on the abolition question, build all their arguments on this position, "*the act of holding a slave is sin*," or as they often express it, "*to claim 'property in man,' under any circumstances, is sin*." We maintain that this position is *ultra*, or that it goes beyond the Bible, and as all the philosophy, logic, religion, and practice, of modern abolitionism is founded upon this fallacy, we reject their principles and measures as *ultraism*, and eminently entitled to this appellation. Indeed if their position of the abstract sinfulness of slavery is admitted into the creed, it must be obvious, that the duty of *immediate abolition* becomes binding on all men, for all should "*cease sinning immediately without regard to circumstances and consequences*." And hence when men adopt such views, if they love the souls of slaveholders, they are impelled to insist on their *instantly* emancipating their slaves, on pain of eternal damnation. With the Bible in their hands, they feel authorized to denounce "slaveholders" as "robbers, pirates, man-stealers," for these criminals are only *sinners*, and the act of slaveholding is sin independent of all circumstances. Hence when they become zealous in the faith, they "verily think they do God service" by indiscriminate anathemas and censoriousness, not only upon slaveholders *en masse*, but especially upon Christians who are guilty of this sin, and they even denominate the religion they profess a "whip-plaiting, chain-forging, man-stealing Christianity." Indeed such epithets belong to the vocabulary of *Ultraism*, and are hurled equally at those, who dare to doubt or even hesitate whether there may not be circumstances in which slaveholding may not be this "heinous sin against God."

We are not among those who have marvelled at the extravagances into which this creed has impelled men, who on other topics are somewhat dispassionate, for this is the legitimate fruit of radical error, when it lies at the foundation of religious creed, and that this is such an error may be apparent, when we remember that it does not even profess to be built upon the Bible. The doctrine, that "slavery

is a sin *independent of all circumstances*," and that "immediate abolition irrespective of all consequences," is duty, is not found, even by implication, in the Bible. Indeed this doctrine is avowedly derived from the TEXT "*all men are born free and equal*," which is not only, *not in the Bible*, but, in the sense in which these ultras abuse and pervert it, is expressly *contrary to its teachings*. It is the creed of infidels universally, who reject the Bible, and it has led not only to this form of ultraism, but to every species of anarchy, ultra-democracy, and agrarianism. And yet it is the chosen motto of ultra-abolitionists, who would thus rally the patriotism of the nation, by this *ad captandum* flourish.

If the leaders of the ultra abolition movements of the day had not found the Bible against them, they would have looked elsewhere than in the Declaration of Independence, for the foundation stone of their system. For, highly as Americans value that venerable document, and honor the names and principles of their fathers who issued it, they can never be persuaded nor deluded into so flagrant an error by any perversion of the language of that instrument. Were not the signers of that "Bill of Rights" either slaveholders, or citizens of a slaveholding country, representatives of those who held slaves, and was it not alleged among the grievances complained of in that declaration itself, that the mother country, a slaveholding nation, had taken away *slave property* from our citizens? And yet are we to be told that when they declared the "inalienable rights of man, to be life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," that they either taught or implied a denial of the "right of property in man?" Much less does this perversion of their sentiments find any countenance when it is recollected, that after the success of the revolution they then commenced, the constitution of the United States was framed with an express recognition of slaveholding among the reserved rights of the several states, with which the general government should never interfere.

Whatever else then our fathers meant by the sentiment so often repeated, that "all men are born free and equal," they never meant to annihilate the distinction in which Paul gloried, that he was FREE-BORN. This and the various distinctions among our race, which are the result of the allotments of Divine Providence, are frequently recognized in the Bible, but nowhere is it there insinuated that "all men are born free and equal," according to the misapplication of this maxim by these ultras, since the history of the world would have been a practical refutation of such a sentiment. We learn indeed that "God is no respecter of persons," and that "God made of one blood all the nations of the earth," but these and the like testimonies of the Bible afford no support to the ultraism we are considering.

But let us inquire why ultra-abolitionists have chosen this human maxim as their potent motto, instead of the golden rule of our blessed Lord, "As ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." After what we have said, the reason must be very obvious. This golden rule, as does all other Divine legislation, regards *circumstances and consequences*, and hence would not suit the purposes of ultraism, and this will evidently appear if we apply it to the case of an individual slaveholder. If such an one, who is a Christian man, be approached with this rule, and immediate abolition be urged upon him, he might reply by acknowledging its paramount



authority, and declaring his readiness to acquiesce in obedience to its requirements, and at the same time, take the following position. "If I and my family were slaves, and one of my present slaves occupied my relation as master, if our mutual circumstances were the same as at present, I can say in my conscience before my Maker, and in view of the judgment to which I am hastening, *I would* that he should retain me and my wife and children in bondage, rather than emancipate us irrespective of consequences. In retaining my slave property, therefore, under present circumstances, I am literally acting upon the golden rule, and 'doing to them as I would be done by' under similar circumstances." Now if this Christian master was a man of unimpeachable integrity and veracity, and there are many such who occupy this precise ground, it will be obvious, that the argument and logic of the abolitionist would be at an end, nor would his "golden rule either prompt to denunciation, or allow of evasion. The same difficulty would lie with any other Bible maxim, for the law of God invariably regards both "circumstances and consequences," while ultraism disclaims these as belonging to the rejected "doctrine of expediency."

But we pursue this thought in a different aspect, and inquire whether the doctrine that "slaveholding is sin, independent of all circumstances," finds any semblance of authority in the Bible definitions of *sin*. What is sin according to our standard? We select a few of the more prominent definitions, viz. "Sin is the transgression of the law."—We suppose the *law* of God is that here spoken of, and that the *law* must be *known*, and its transgressions be *voluntary*, in order to be *sin*. To convict of sin in the act of slaveholding, these several *circumstances* must be regarded. Does he know the law of God he is violating? Is his transgression voluntary? In many cases these questions must be answered in the negative, while in others, the continuance for a longer or shorter time of the act of slaveholding, because of "circumstances," may be a duty. This is the case with unprotected children; infirm, aged, and afflicted slaves; and especially such as deprecate emancipation and protest against being liberated, from an intelligent view of evil consequences. Though we might suppose a great variety of cases in which "immediate abolition without regard to consequences" would be sin according to this definition; a "transgression of the law," both human and Divine.

Again "all unrighteousness is sin." And is the act of slaveholding *invariably* an act of unrighteousness? This depends upon "circumstances," and such will often prove the negative of this question, for there have been cases in which property in man, has been acquired and retained for a long time from a righteous motive, and the slave has been thus protected from unrighteousness; and surely in such cases there was no unrighteousness in the act. The same may be said in relation to that comprehensive definition, "He that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin." In order to criminate the act of slaveholding by this criterion, the "circumstances" are all-important, for the slaveholder must *know* that by "immediate abolition" he would *do good*, and it is only for want of this knowledge, or because of a *contrary knowledge*, that many Christian masters do not liberate their slaves. But we forbear to enlarge, and now briefly proceed to another aspect of this same form of ultraism.

These ultra-abolitionists have another mode of arguing their position, and this is this. "Slavery is an evil, and if so, it is a *moral* evil, for what is *wrong*, is *morally wrong*. There can be no neutrality in morals. These and the like positions are constantly repeated by ultras not only of this class, but every other. Let us look at this doctrine for a moment, in the light of our standard, for we allege it to be ultraism, only because it goes *beyond* the Bible. The sentiment is, that there is no difference between an action being wrong and morally wrong, or in other words, whatever is wrong, is sin against God. Need we detain the reader by any argument or evidence, that this position is both false and absurd? Is there no such thing as error in judgment, mistake, and unavoidable infirmity, and are these all morally wrong? Are not many things done involuntarily, which are wrong in themselves, and yet not morally wrong? Or are all the errors in judgment to which the holiest men are liable, so many sins against God. Then indeed would the law of God be absolutely impracticable, and man must be an omniscient and infallible being, before such a law could be adapted to his nature. But does not the Bible utterly annihilate this limb of ultraism? Paul distinctly affirms, that, though "all things were *lawful*, yet all things were *not expedient*," and however this plain sentiment may be interpreted, if it means any thing, it must mean that some things would to him be *morally* right, and yet by reason of circumstances they would be *inexpedient*. And this is essentially to declare that though they would be *wrong*, yet not *morally wrong*, and accordingly in numerous instances he asserts his moral rights, while he relinquishes them wholly on the ground of expediency, which he ascertains by the "circumstances and consequences," and these are uniformly regarded as we have seen, by all the inspired writers. Now can we find throughout the entire Bible, a single example in which sin is defined "independent of circumstances," or duty enjoined "without regard to consequences.

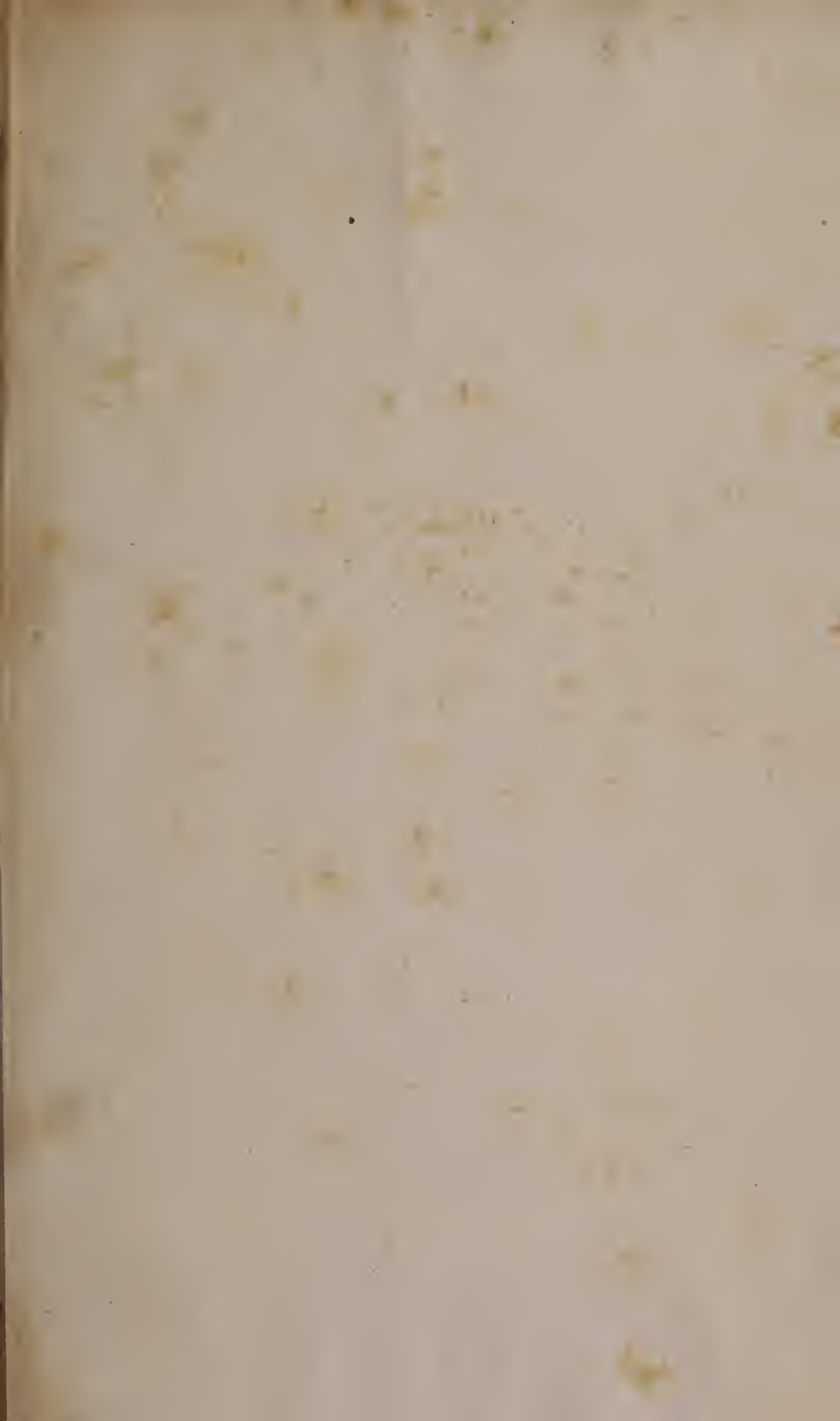
That "slavery is an evil," however, can be proved from the Bible, since it is everywhere treated as such, and this without appealing to "the Declaration of Independence," or any human "Bill of Rights." Multitudes of the slaveholders themselves feel and deplore this evil, and would fain be delivered from it if they could, without incurring themselves and involving others in a worse evil. Such may and possibly do err in judgment in relation to the difficulties in their way, and in this they are wrong; but whether they are *morally wrong* in retaining their slaves, until they can see how they can safely emancipate them, can only be solved by a knowledge of all the "circumstances." These are known to the "Searcher of Hearts," and so far as any of these Christian masters violate the "law of love," they will receive their reward.

But while we thus believe and hope, yet we are constrained to admit, that there are still greater multitudes of slaveholders, who are such from choice, they "love the wages of unrighteousness," and would fain perpetuate slavery to the latest generation. These are the oppressors whom God will judge, and who have cause to dread the retributions of eternity. Our standard, the Bible, records their history, condemns their crimes, and inscribes their doom.











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